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AUTHOR Petruzzello, Marion C.
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ABSTRACT

To explore how news sources are used by media to create a social image of women during key suffrage events of 1858, 1920, and 1970, the front page stories of the "New York Times" were reviewed for 1 week prior to and 1 week following each of these events: May 14, 1858, the Eighth National Women's Rights Convention in New York City; August 27, 1920, passage of the Nineteenth Amendment by Congress; and August 20, 1970, the first Women's Rights Strike March. Once the "New York Times" policies and historical events of each period were known, investigation began into who were these sources of information and what type of image they projected. Results revealed that the sources of information for all three periods remained much the same. They were men and women dedicated for the most part to the movement issues. Those who traditionally opposed the movement such as the church, government, and police were used as sources to a minimal degree. Although the articles should have produced a positive image of women, they did not. This is in part accounted for by how the reporter interpreted the information. It seemed to make no difference whether the reporter was male or female. The reporter reinforced negative images by using words such as "weakminded" and "wife of" or by writing of the event itself and not of issues surrounding each news story. (HOD)

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IMAGE MAKERS: REPORTERS OR SOURCES

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IMAGE MAKERS: REPORTERS OR SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

Newspaper coverage of the women's movement is and has been a much debated topic of discussion. Cries of selective reporting, inequality and negative stereotyping of women by reporters and sources of information have been heard since the 1850's. Then, as now, the loudest protests are directed toward the image of women created by the media and their sources.

The early women's movement was seen as a hopeful first step toward eliminating this inequality in the everyday events of life and presenting a new and accurate image of women. Women were asking to be seen not so much as deviant persons whose activities had moved outside the margins of cultural community boundaries, but as persons who possessed unique natures and could make distinctive contributions if given the opportunity to be part of the social norm.¹ From the beginning of suffrage to the present, reporters have used their sources of information in articles to mold the readers way of thinking about women - both from a social and historical point of view.

This paper will explore how news sources are used by the media to create a social image of women during key suffrage events of 1858, 1920 and 1970. Three different periods of time, 50 to 70 years apart were selected to explore the possibility of difference in presentation of the same subject. Women's rights events occurring in each year were chosen based on whether they were front page news items and/or their importance to the movement's cause. Examination will focus on who these news sources

are and how the information they give is presented by the reporter.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In order to understand why a reporter uses certain news sources it is important to briefly review both the historical events of the 1858 through 1970 period, and the shaping of journalistic policies of news coverage which governed those periods. I will note especially those policies of my source, The New York Times.

"It was still a man's world at the beginning of 1860."² The Federalist/Republican political battles had led to the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1801. Lewis and Clark began their explorations west, and by 1830 the Erie Canal made New York City the largest city in the United States. The Cumberland Road and Erie Canal were economic as well as political issues and accelerated the westward migration, a fact that would influence the options open to women in a rural environment. The big social issue was slavery.

During this period formal teaching of young children, young men and women was expanded. Women were now able to attend high school. It was an era of prosperity.

Almost all aspects of life were dominated by males. With the exception of Mother Seton who achieved prominence in the field of religion, areas such as government, science, medicine, education and the arts remained male strong holds until the mid-1850's. It was rare that women of this period were known outside their communities. Women's time was occupied by traditional 'women's business' such as cooking, cleaning and rearing of children.³

Women of the early colonial period were controlled by either husband or father. They were seen in relationship to the male in their

life. A step above the slave, women of the early 1800's had few legal rights.⁴

This image of a "wan, modest creature whose sentimentality was as stifling as the corset she wore" was disseminated not only by the clerical opinion but by women editors and associate editors of the twenty-five publications aimed at women which were founded between 1806-1849. The most famous, Godey's Lady's Book, edited by Sarah Hale for more than 40 years was conventional in tone although Hale herself was said to be a supporter of higher education for women, women's property rights and day nurseries.

Until the late eighteenth century women had few options. Marriage was a near-universal experience for women in an overwhelming agricultural society. If she chose not to be a farm wife, assuming she had a choice, she had to live in an urban area where she could support herself in one of three ways: by running a small school; using her household skills; or by opening a shop, usually selling dry goods. Elizabeth Inman, a successful Boston businesswoman, is a good example of what an eighteenth century woman could accomplish despite cultural restrictions.⁵

In 1837 the nation entered a five-year depression. The anti-slavery movement was the big social issue and caught the attention of many American women. For the first time women organized to fight practices and laws which condoned inequality. The modern women's movement can be said to have started as an offshoot of antislavery organizations. By now there were 1,006 abolition groups with more than 100,000 members, half of which were women.⁶

In 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York the first Women's Rights Convention was held. The 300 strong delegation revised the Declaration of Independence to read "All men and women are created equal." The suffragettes

demanded the right to vote and gave notice they were willing to fight for that right.⁷

Housewives rarely read newspapers before 1870 and there were few women with careers outside the home.⁸ Men who controlled family matters often did not bring the newspaper home because of the emphasis on crime news. Newspapers were written for men by men with few exceptions.⁹ Much local and regional news of importance was passed on orally via person-to-person which generally occurred in local taverns or the county courthouse, both of which were male bastions.¹⁰

This period in newspaper history saw the development of the penny press. The Industrial Revolution and cheap paper plus faster communication systems aided growth of newspapers.

These early newspapers survived on ads, and merchants often objected to spending money on a paper aimed at, or in part, at women. Such was the case with James Bennett's Ladies Morning Star which attempted in 1836 to reach the feminine public. It lasted six months.

The New York Times of the 1850's was a penny paper. It's front page was crowded with foreign and local news. Times editor, Henry J. Raymond, sought to establish a pattern of well balanced news and good editing with a special emphasis on foreign affairs. It was known for it's good manners and strongly worded opinions. Raymond was said to have taken pride in not stooping to Greeley's low editorial attacks.¹¹ But in fact, he often did get carried away in the common practice of editorial feuding.

The 1900's began a progressive era in the United States marked by an increasing democratization of government, and an increasing control of business activity by the government.

Politically, Theodore Roosevelt allied himself with editors and writers he called "muckrakers" and together they fought corruption in the American business community. The railroads and steel industry became favorite targets. "Square Deal" was the slogan of the day. Henry Ford was manufacturing a car that was affordable by average Americans. This development led to new and better roads linking rural areas to cities. Growth of the suburbs effected the occupations of millions including new employment opportunities for women.¹²

The progressive era came to a halt when the United States entered World War I in 1917. The war in Europe changed life in America. Men, who once dominated the work force, were now serving in the military, their places in the work force were taken by women. The 1910 employment figure of 8,000,000 women employed in offices, factories and schools rose dramatically.¹³ One worker in five was a women.¹⁴

A wide variety of new options opened to women. Women no longer were resigned to isolated married life on the farm. They could now live in cities, work in factories, attend high school, pursue careers in teaching or perhaps medicine, become foreign missionaries, etc.¹⁵

Taking full advantage of these new options were such self-made women as writer, philosopher and socialist, Charlotte Gilman, and Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke College.¹⁶

Prohibition became the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919. The stage is now set for the rekindling of the equal rights argument. Women's right to vote was finally achieved in 1920 with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and that fall women helped elect a president for the first time.

Although many papers were still published for political reasons there was an air of relaxation in the strongly worded political editorial.

The New York Times as well as other leading newspapers began to see the importance of the 'news' story, and the news gathering technique was emphasized.

From the late 1880's on the reporter had gained new credibility and had replaced the editor as the "ruling genius" of the newspaper.¹⁷ By-lines began to be seen in Sunday editions. The technique of the interview was widely debated. Magazines especially criticized reporters for invading the privacy of citizens and overwriting insignificant social events.

Along with a new status for reporters and recognition of the news function of newspapers, there was a new awareness that papers should be neutral and independent of party bonds.¹⁸

The early 1890's was a period of "new journalism" and everyone including the Times tried to keep up with imaginative Joseph Pulitzer. News events were presented as colorful and often given sensational heads. Crusades and "stunt" programs sponsored by newspapers gained popularity with the editorial page as the promotor.

The crusading of most New York newspapers of this period exploited crime and scandal. Gossip and crime stories became the aim of reporters. Yellow journalism reached its peak in 1901, however, the New York Times as well as other New York papers made little use of the technique of large type scare heads, lavish pictures and faked interviews characterized by Hearst.¹⁹

The twentieth century viewed newspapers no longer as a personal organ. They were now considered an industrial institution, a business for profit. In the case of the Times a yearly profit of 3 to 4 million dollars was not unusual.²⁰

The 1900's brought increased effort on the part of newspapers to

gain the readership of two new emerging classes: immigrants and women. Why now were newspapers interested in women as readers? Perhaps it was their status in industry and business, but most likely it was due to department store advertising directed to women in the home. The 'women's page' was more in vogue than ever. News of women often appeared on the fourth or fifth pages opposite a department store ad - all directed to women. By 1930 three-fourths of an ad agency budget went to newspapers.

This period also developed the 'big play story'. These were human interest events usually containing drama and suspense. The 'big play' articles appealed to emotion, were motivated by circulation figures and could crowd out other worthy front page stories for days at a time. Although not new to journalism this type of story was especially noticeable in the twenties and thirties. ²¹

President Harding ushered in a new administration in 1921 declaring "we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World" and promised to return the United States to a period of isolated politics and business. From his election until 1932 the public mood zig-zagged from one extreme to another. First concern over alleged radicalism, then complacency over good times and finally growing gloom over a possible depression. ²²

Most frustrating for women of this period was that according to the media they had achieved equality. The media cited such gains on modern women's behalf as freedom of choice in careers, marriage, smoking in public and new guides for motherhood all of which were exciting and fulfilling. The realities of the 1920s and 1930s, however, did not confirm this view. Mere jobs, rather than exciting careers, were not so easy to find. 23 percent of the labor force were women in 1920; 24

percent were women a decade later. Although women had been promoted to better positions during the war, this proved temporary as the men returned and were restored to their civilian occupations. Wage differentials remained discriminatory both during the war and following. Those women who did find jobs following the war were considered unskilled labor. In education one-third of all graduate degrees were awarded to women in the 1930s, but women constituted only 4 percent of the full professors at American Universities.²³ A new sociological phenomenon was taking place: a third of American women now worked.

By 1950 the United States was again involved in war - this time in Korea. In Europe we were wageing a "cold war".

When the 89th Congress adjourned on October 22, 1966 the American economy had enjoyed six years of economic expansion. But amid the good times and good prospects social dissatisfactions were evident in large-scale black demonstrations and escalation of the Vietnam War.

During this period such unique women as Millian Roberts, New York City Director of Organization for American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, over came not only the barriers of sex but racial and class boundaries as well. In 1979 she was part of the elite 7 percent of elected governing board members of unions and employee associations that were women.²⁴

Newspapers of the 1920, 30s and 40s continued to rely on economic-social-political events. Foreign news coverage gained a renewed popularity. World War II brought strong censorship measures not faced by the press before as well as difficulties of communication and personal risk to reporters. This also provided an opportunity for women to become involved as war correspondents.

The reporter of this time was more educated. Emphasis on the "professionalism" of journalism was stressed. Gathering of objective news facts was stressed.

Recently the New York Times has experienced many changes not uncommon to all large city newspapers. New technologies have altered reader habits. This, coupled with the increased leisure of the 1970s and 80s have brought the newspaper to a careful examination of their methods and results. Ownership changes and mergers in the name of economics are not uncommon.

The credibility gap in politics and what seemed to be years of reporting bad news (the recession of the 50s, the Vietnam War of the 60s and Watergate in the 70s) had created a disbelief on the part of readers. Investigative journalism such as that done by Woodward and Bernstein got attention.

METHODS AND SOURCES

To examine reporting via sources of information the New York Times was selected. The front page stories were reviewed for one week prior and one week following each event to get a feel for the news of the day. Next, three events of importance in the feminists movement were isolated: May 14, 1858, the 8th National Women's Right's Convention in New York City; August 27, 1920, passage of the Nineteenth Amendment by Congress, and August 24, 1970, the first Women's Right's Strike March.

Historical background data of each period was researched in various history books such as Conceived in Liberty by Smelser and Kirwin. Details of the women's movement, including the early history of suffrage, were found in books on feminism such as Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media by Tuchman, Daniels and Benet. Media relationship to the feminist movement was found in the actual newspaper articles

as well as various books on communication, reporting and newspaper history such as American Journalism by Mott and Women and the News by Epstein.

A history of the New York Times policies was reviewed in Meyer Berger's The Story of the New York Times.

Once New York Times policies and historical events of each period were known, investigation began into who these sources of information were and what type of image they projected. Personal details of prominent sources were researched in history books as well as Who Was Who in America for 1858 and 1920 and Who Is Who in America for 1970.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The news of the 8th Women's Rights Convention on May 14th and 15th, 1858 in New York City appeared on page four of the New York Times. It was not a front page story. On both days the heads, "Women's Rights Convention", appeared in small straight type. The headline on May 14th did include an extra 'sensational' sentence which said, "Mr. S. P. Andrews proposes Free-love as a new Platform." No by-line is given. In view of the male reporter custom of the day I will assume the article is written from male rather than female point of view.

The table of contents published on May 14th indicating what news would appear the following day did not mention the convention. Yet on May 15th two columns of convention news appeared as well as an editorial devoted to the convention proceedings. It is interesting to note that the print used in the editorial column is twice as large as the news article print.

In reviewing New York Times history and details of its editor in 1858, Henry J. Raymond, it can be assumed Raymond was the author of the

editorial. Because it was common during the 1850s for editorials of personal opinion to appear next to articles they editorialized, Raymond should be considered a source of information as well as a reporter.

Raymond presented quite a picture of the women convention delegates. He compared the feminists unladylike actions to Lucrezia Borgia and asked women to examine which was more important: dressing appropriately (hoop skirts) or voting. How women dressed was a sex stereotype, and after all the voting booths were not "capacious" enough to allow women dressed in hooped skirts inside. He stated, "Weak-minded, fanatics have a natural tendency to women's rights conventions" which gives the reader a radical impression of the delegates. The issue of free-love was given prominence compared to the convention issues. In the opening paragraph Raymond suggests it is hard to know what rights women are asking for, that women should not be compared to slaves where rights are concerned and finally that the delegates should realize they hadn't achieved anything new at their recent convention.

Raymond implies women are: unladylike if not dressed in hoops and therefore voting is prohibitive; are deceptive, weak-minded and emotional; tempted to radical or deviant actions and could get nothing accomplished in 10 years of meetings as well as being unclear on their objectives.

The news article itself gave a similar, perhaps lower key impression of the delegates. As was common reporting of the day, the article reads as a series of reflections on the convention agenda. The convention was described by the reporter as unruly. Three-fourths of the article referred to what men did and said, one-fourth to women's actions. This suggests that even in a women's rights convention men remained the dominant figures. Men, therefore, became the primary sources of

information. Women were described by what they wore and their marital status "Mrs." Men were described by their profession and town of residence. When men spoke they were eloquent, level-headed and gave speeches. Women on the other hand read extracts, spoke in "low tone" which couldn't be heard, argued among themselves and when finished, audience reaction was to laugh not applaud as for men.

It was implied from the reporters view point that men were given respect while women ridiculed each other.

It should be noted that most of the men attending the convention were in favor of women's rights and although Raymond had included them in his "weak-minded fanatics" category they still looked better in the article than women.

Since the article was predominately a quote from delegates, these men and women became the primary sources of information. Who were these sources? Were they male or female? What occupation did they have if any? How did their statements picture women?

A brief look at several quoted sources revealed the following:
Ernestine Rose: Born in Poland, immigrated to the United States as a young girl. Despite her accent she was considered forceful and eloquent and a favorite on the convention lecture circuit.²⁵ Susan B. Anthony: A Quaker and paid agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. She held various jobs including teacher, writer and newspaper editor. She was head of the National American Women's Suffrage Association between 1892-1900. She was president of the New York City Convention. Lucy Stone: Female abolitionist and temperance worker who kept her maiden name when she married H. Blackwell in 1855. She was the organizer of the American Women's Suffrage Association. George W. Curtis: Male,

editor of Harper's Weekly for 1857. Civil Service Commission head in 1871 under the Grant administration. Frederick Douglass: Male, black abolitionist editor of North Star in Rochester, New York. Born a slave in 1817, he was self-educated and wrote several autobiographical books.

In reviewing what each source said I could not come up with anything strongly derogatory about women voiced by the sources. Susan Anthony's remarks were not quoted. The reporter, however, said "the basis of her remarks was the proposition that wherever there were women, there also was plenty of women's work to do." The reporter gives the impression that women belong at home where their work is.

Lucy Stone stood to speak, but a "gentlemen" from the audience claimed the right to be heard and she yielded. Again, we do not hear the source speaking only the reporters interpretation of what happened. The reporter is now conveying that men still remain the dominant force.

Of Mrs. Roses' speech we hear only that she was the last speaker of the convention.

We do hear quite a bit of what the male sources of information said however. In Mr. Douglass's address we hear of Douglass's concern that women are "uneducated in a fuller notion of what she would do." The reporter gives three-fourths of this speech expressing Douglass's only "difficulty" in the women's movement. The reader now gets the impression that women don't understand enough to be allowed to be equals with men.

The reporter tells us George Curtis' speech consisted of a discussion of the American Tract Society proposals on slavery and a criticism of the President's policy on slavery in Kansas. Four lines at the end of his speech were related to women's rights. The reporter gives the reader the impression that women's rights come last.

By examining Raymond's editorial it is easy to see he does not favor women's rights and amusingly writes of the convention. His concern is with selling papers and since only men were buying and reading papers at this time it is to Raymond's advantage not to make waves in the status quo of male-female relationships. It should be noted that he is not vicious with the editorial, rather he is poking fun at the convention. Many other editors of this period came down very hard on the women's movement.²⁶

Examination of the news article itself shows no bias toward women by sources of information. However, it does show negative stereotyping and selective reporting on the part of the reporter via use of words and paraphrasing.

It should be noted that those who most strongly opposed the women's movement namely the church and government were not used as sources of information for this story.

Ratification of women's right to vote in the form of the Nineteenth Amendment occurred on August 26, 1920 in Washington D.C.. On August 27th a one column story ran on the front page of the New York Times. By-line indicated the article was written as a special to the New York Times. During this period it was common for large newspapers to have reporters based in Washington, D.C. or to have official handouts rewritten. The Times of 1920 did have one female reporter who covered suffrage events. It was not unusual during this period that women could cover stories until they became front page at which time men were assigned to write them. The sex of the reporter on the August 27th story could not be determined.

The headlines for most of the articles appearing on the front page that day were much the same. The suffrage article was concluded

on page three. Complete text of the Amendment was also printed on page three.

Sources of information included the following: Bainbridge Colby: Male, born 1869, lawyer, Secretary of State for President Wilson, law partner with Wilson 1921-23, Progressive party nominee for U.S. Senator 1914, counsel on several committees investigating insurance companies in New York. Mrs. Abby Scott Baker: President of the National Women's Party. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt: President of the National American Women's Suffrage Association and President of the International Suffrage Association. Frequently spoke for restricted suffrage. Sought to and did win Wilson's support of suffrage as early as 1915.²⁷ William G. McAdoo: Born 1863, lawyer from California, Secretary of Treasury 1913-18 under Wilson, Director of Railways in 1919 and nominee for President on many ballots in 1920. Married to Wilson's daughter, Eleanor.

Suffrage was a very political subject in 1920 as evidenced by quoting of President Wilson and Secretary of State Colby. Census statistics showed 26,000,000 women eligible to vote following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and November of 1920 was an election year.

The article shows Secretary Colby signing the proclamation after morning coffee and no breakfast. He used an ordinary pen and excluded anyone from watching because he considered the signing as part of his ministerial duties and because of arguments as to which faction of the women's movement should attend. Much was made of this rivalry within the movement. Colby gave credit to President Wilson for backing the movement making ratification possible. A majority of the article shows Colby's actions and recapitulation of the days' events through Colby's eyes. The impression left by the article is that women are still fighting

among themselves and it took a man to get the Amendment ratified.

Again, issues are mundane and the event is central.

Later that day President and Mrs. Wilson received Carrie Chapman Catt. Mrs. Catt is seen presenting Wilson with a "memorial volume" and thanking him for his support. The "militant" arm of suffrage had sought to see Colby later that day but never talked to him because "the Spanish Ambassador arrived and took precedence over the delegation of militants." The impression reflected here is that men's business was more important than that of women. Women can wait. No one was interested in what the women wanted.

From Mrs. Baker is a one paragraph quote wondering why women weren't present at the ratification. Carrie Chapman Catt is present for several functions but is not quoted. Could it be she didn't say anything?

William McAdoo is quoted via his letter of congratulations to the Women's Party. He was not present at any of the functions.

It is interesting to note the last item mentioned in the article - a parade of several hundred suffrage supporters through New York City - was given more space than Bakers statement.

The ratification story as reported demonstrates for the reader what impact the movement will have on institutions - in this case government. The voting constituency changed a great deal. The new voters challenged the Warren Harding Presidential campaign.

Conclusions about sources of information and reporting of this story include: the editorial accompanying the news story was gone; the complete Amendment proclamation was published without quote and the facts could speak for themselves; and although a front page beginning the majority of the article is found on page three. There was no other

news for or about women on page three except the suffrage articles. There was however, two advertisements for Lord and Taylor department stores, perhaps indicating ads for women only.

Although we can see some changes, namely in editorials, news of women has not changed much which may suggest a trend. The "status conferral" concept documented by Lazarsfeld and Merton seems to apply: if you are present, you are important; if you are absent you are insignificant.²⁸ Press failure to give attention to the women's movement as a social issue carries with it a two-fold message: the movement is not important and worthy of media attention and that there isn't a great deal of support for the movement.²⁹ Women are still considered satellites of men, a minor part of the world of men. Is the image of women presented by the sources or by the reporter who selects some items and rejects others?

On August 27, 1970 coverage of the New York City Women's Strike for Equality March was the most complete news type coverage of the three periods examined.

The coverage began as a front page story and included numerous articles on page 30 and 31. Although all of page 30 and most of 31 contained 'news about women', they were not labeled 'women's pages' as such therefore we cannot say coverage on these pages was compartmentalized into 'for women only' reading. Although most of the women's movement news of that particular day did appear coordinated into a concise area, it could have been organized that way for ease of reading as well as the 'ghettoizing' which has been charged by the feminists. However, Tuchman reported in 1977 that the New York Times women's page editor deliberately avoided competing for front-page space, preferring instead to present coverage of women and women's issues "in-depth" in a special section.

Of the 12 articles about women and the August 27th events, four were written by a female (name on by-line), one by a male reporter (name on by-line), one was a UPI story, three were Special To The Times, and three had no credits.

On page 31 appeared three ads, one for a dictionary, one for batteries and one for a music shop.

The main article described the march in detail and quoted directly sources of information about the women's movement such as Kate Millett, feminist author, and Betty Friedan, President of NOW. Despite the fact that it was written by a female reporter it still contained subtle, negative images such as conflict with police while marching where "one woman was arrested for disorderly conduct." The impression is that she was a movement supporter when that may not have been the case. The reporter did use the police as implied sources of information.

Several paragraphs were allotted to Betty Friedan being 20 minutes late for the march in order to have her hair done. The impression given is of a person trying to be beautiful for the media audience.

Kate Millett is described as a former Barnard College instructor who now lives in a Bowery loft and "swears like a gunnery sergeant." She is a "high priestess" and has a marriage of convenience. The reader has the impression that Millett is a tough cookie and doesn't have much regard for the tradition of marriage.

Bella Abzug, Democratic Congressional candidate, is a source of information. She is seen using "vigorous tones" in giving her speech and using "finger-jabbing calls" in describing strike "demands." The image reflected is that of an aggressive woman.

This study indicates several correlations in the relationship

of sources and reporters to the images created in the three cases cited.

Coverage of women's movement events went from a third page story and editorial depicting women who wanted equal rights as weak-minded fanatics, fighting among themselves and dominated by men, to a front page article with two additional pages devoted to the events that took place not the issues. The creation of a "women's" section at this time conveys the powerful message: first, this section is only for women; second, it is not for men; and third, women are "separate but equal" - news of their events may appear but only within there traditional section of the paper. Women in the 1970s are portrayed as aggressive, i.e., the reader's picture of Abzug; as women "overflowing police barricades", as sex stereotyped in Betty Friedan's case; as uninterested unless involved in the movement, as people who have no regard for tradition and finally as deviant.

The sources of information for all three periods remained much the same. They were men and women dedicated for the most part to the movement issues. Those who traditionally opposed the movement such as the church, government and police were used as sources to a minimal degree.

The articles should have produced news based on sources who were supporters of the movement. Therefore, the image reflected should be positive. Yet it was not. Why? Exploration shows the image seen by the public, that is, the image gained from reading the news story, is created not so much by what the source has said but more by how the reporter interprets the information. The interpretation is sometimes subtle, sometimes not. It seems to make no difference if the reporter is male or female. As Gaye Tuchman cited in her study of the New York

Times front page, many news decisions are based on internal political struggles between editors vying for space. ³¹

The reporter reinforces images by the use of words such as "weak-minded" and "wife of"; uses comparisons as in Raymond's comparison of women in the movement to Lucrezia Borgia, and finally by writing of the event itself and not the issues which would make it a true news story. It is probably accurate to say that although reporters do not consciously discriminate against women and women's issues, such conventions as the beat structure, the issue or event definition of what news is, and the power imbalances all work to limit coverage of women and the message system may be incorporated into a reporter's own social attitudes. ³²

This study demonstrates that the reporters who cover the women's rights events currently for the New York Times continue to reinforce the negative and unrealistic image of women which began as early as 1858, and that lack of coverage by the Times of women's issues may lead to an uninformed audience.

NOTES

- ¹ Kai T. Erickson, Wayward Puritans A Study in the Sociology of Deviance, (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1966).
- ² Claire R. and Leonard W. Ingraham, An Album of Women in American History, (Franklin Watts, Inc., New York, 1972) p. 31.
- ³ Ingraham, p. 18.
- ⁴ Maurine Beasley and Sheila Silver, Women In Media: A Documentary Source Book, (Women's Institute For Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C., 1977) p. 20.
- ⁵ Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, Women of America A History, (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1979), pp. 48-67.
- ⁶ Ingraham, p. 22.
- ⁷ Judith Papachristou, Women Together, (Alfred A. Knof, New York, 1976), pp. 23-24.
- ⁸ Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press, (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1936), p. 14.
- ⁹ In the early 1840s Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune asked Margaret Fuller to write for him, but not for women's news however. In 1850 Jane Swisshelm, Grace Greenwood and Gail Hamilton began reporting political news for Greeley. By 1886, 200 women worked for New York papers.
- ¹⁰ Berkin and Norton, p. 39.
- ¹¹ Frank L. Mott, American Journalism, (The MacMillan Company, New York, 1962), p. 429.
- ¹² Marshall Smelser and Harry W. Kirwin, Conceived in Liberty, (Doubleday and Company, Inc., New York, 1955), pp. 508-509.
- ¹³ Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, Daniel Aaron, The United States The History of a Republic, (prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1967), p. 652.
- ¹⁴ Joseph A. Hill, Women In Gainful Occupations 1870-1920, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1929), p. 52.
- ¹⁵ Berkin and Norton, p. 139.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p. 151
- ¹⁷ Mott, p. 385.
- ¹⁸ According to Mott this independent philosophy evolved from the penny press fight against the party press in the 1830-40s and the dissolution of the Whig party in the 1850s.

19 A. Ochs established the Times as a paper in contrast to the yellow papers via use of foreign news, use of financial news, texts of speeches and documents, conservative coverage of politics, social and economic attitudes.

20 Mott, p. 546.

21 Ibid, p. 696.

22 Hofstadler, pp. 688-692.

23 Berkin and Norton, pp. 275-276.

24 Ibid, pp. 290-291.

25 Papchristou in Women Together states that conventions of this period had a standard meeting procedure: introduction, discussion and adoption of resolutions. Guest speakers attracted both press and listeners and their speeches dealt with subjects such as laws concerning women, marriage, economic status and personal freedom.

26 The Syracuse Daily Star and The New York Herald were among the most vocal opposition papers.

27 Papachristou, p. 183.

28 Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, Mass Communications, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action, (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1971).

29 Laurily K. Epstein, Women and the News, (Hastings House Publishers, New York, 1978) p. 126.

30 Epstein, p. 124.

31 Ibid, p. 124.

32 Ibid, pp. 120-124.